

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The original general aim of this document was two-fold: to expose the revisionist-conciliationist line of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and of that Party's leadership since that time, by contrasting it with the Marxist-Leninist 12-Party Declaration with which it is totally irreconcilable; and to serve together with a number of other documents circulated by the Marxist-Leninist caucus in the Party, as a platform of struggle against revisionism and conciliationism among Communists and in the working-class movement in general.

The specific formal conclusions were 1) to call for a special National Convention to cancel the 16th Convention and to reestablish the Party as a Marxist-Leninist Party, and 2) to demand CPUSA endorsement of the 12-Party Declaration.

The original general aim remains exactly the same because the basic problem remains the same, the struggle against revisionism. Therefore, the substance of Two Roads remains completely valid. It is in fact confirmed by actual events. That is why we are republishing it, the original supply having been exhausted.

But the specific formal organizational conclusions are decisively transformed. What was almost exclusively an internal Party ideological struggle has now matured into a full and formal organizational split. The "two roads" now are represented by the lines of two separate organizations: the revisionist-conciliationist dominated old Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The specific aims of the Provisional Committee are summed up in its very title. This Committee, a direct outgrowth of the old caucus movement in the Communist Party, was established at a National Conference held in New York City, August 16-17, 1958.

It follows, therefore, that now Two Roads must be read in connection with the following publications: 1) Marxism-Leninism or Revisionism, the main report to the August Conference, by Comrade Armando Roman; 2) A Declaration, a statement of principles adopted by the Conference and published in Vanguard; 3) Vanguard, itself, a monthly publication of the Provisional Committee, established by decision of the Conference. And For A Revolutionary Position On The Negro Question, by Harry Haywood. Although its author has since abandoned the struggle against the revisionist-conciliationist leadership of the old Party, as we said before (see page 33) this document is an integral part of our polemic against revisionism.

The importance which we have attached from the very beginning to the 12-Party Declaration was contrasted to the de-emphasis of it by the revisionist-conciliationists, who, for the most part, wanted to dodge the issue of endorsement. Our view of the matter has been

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confirmed many times in the year which has elapsed since the Declaration of the 12 Parties was issued. We wish to cite here the most explicit example of this, as presented in the Resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China which said:

"The Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries sums up the experience of the international Communist movement in the past century, especially on the past forty years; expounds the common principles which the Communist Parties of all countries must abide by in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; puts forward the basic policy of the Communist Parties in rallying the broad masses of the people to the struggle for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism; it lays the ideological and political foundation for solidarity among the Communist Parties and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It is an epoch-making document which is in the nature of a programme for the international communist movement." (Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Foreign Language Press, Peking 1958, p. 70.)

The National Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A, as American Communists well know, has pointedly refused to endorse the 12-Party Declaration in spite of the rank-and-file demand spearheaded by the publishers of Two Roads. This "leadership" resorted to expulsions of veteran Communists for their insistence upon endorsement (this became the real nub of the whole "factionalism" question).

But even more contemptible is the hoax that Dennis and company are practicing on the international Communist movement. They may think that this deception has had a temporary degree of success. For they cite the same resolution of the Chinese Party which we have cited on the importance of the 12-Party Declaration, <sup>which</sup> mistakenly states that "The Communist Party of the United States of America, after clearing out the revisionist John Gates, has also endorsed the stand taken by these declarations" (They refer to the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto).

By deception, the "leadership" of the old Party may try to hide their political and ideological bankruptcy from the international movement. It is a desperate effort by them to find some basis of political credit which has been completely exhausted among American Communists who know them well. But "murder will out", and this fraud will be a major count in the unurgeable indictment of this peculiar revisionist-consiliationist concept of the practice of "international proletarian solidarity!"

The unmasking of this "leadership" in the international movement will be speeded by the effort of honest American Communists rallied as a part of the struggle to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party U.S.A.

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M.P.